2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

arms, merely to distinguish them from other men, and for the vanity of rendering himself singular by this extraordinary exercise of his authority. This and many other acts of cruelty laid the groundwork for an insurrection, and a complete revolution in the affairs of Tonga.

Toobó Nuha, a great chief, and brother of Finow, conceived himself to be exceedingly oppressed by the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo; till at length he determined to be free, or to die in the attempt. With this view he often conversed with Finow, (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai islands,) sounding his opinion, and spurring him on to the same resolution; with the declaration, that if he would not assist him, he would manage the whole conspiracy himself. Led on partly by these persuasions, but principally by his own private views, Finow entered into a league with Toobó Nuha. One evening these two, attended by several of their usual followers, waited on Toogoo Ahoo, as was now and then customary, to pay their respects to him, by presents of cava root, *gnatoo**, a pig, and several baskets of yams; they then retired. This served as a plausible reason for their being that night in the neighbourhood of the king's residence. About midnight they again repaired

* The material of their wearing apparel.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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to enjoy the sweets and power of monarchy. The battle raged for about three hours, when, by the extraordinary exertions and achievements principally of Toobó Nuha, who, as fame reports, slew on that day forty with his own hand,—the enemy became panic-struck, and fled in all directions, conquered by that arm, which, two days before, in giving Toogoo Ahoo his death, had delivered the country from a tyrant.

Although the victory was so decisively in favour of Finow, it cost him the lives of many of his bravest men, and so far lessened his numerical strength, as to render it prudent not to pursue the enemy. After a consultation with his ally, it was agreed on to proceed immediately to the Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and look to their own possessions, rather than run the risk of losing them and their lives too in a dangerous war at the island of Tonga, where the partisans of the late How were particularly strong. They accordingly set sail for the Hapai islands, and landed at the nearest of them, Namooca, after a slight resistance from a few of the adherents of Toogoo Ahoo. They soon gained entire possession of Namooca, and thence extended their arms to the neighbouring islands, meeting with little opposition, and gathering additional strength, till they arrived at the island of Haano, where a large body of the enemy were assembled and in

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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he goes to battle, or expects the coming of an enemy, to give himself the name of some one particular person, whom he means to single out and fight. This warrior, however, instead of assuming the name of one of the enemy, proudly called himself Fanna Fonnooa (a great gun), declaring that he would run boldly up to a cannon and throw his spear into the mouth of it.

When Finow was informed of these proceedings of the Vavaoo people, he immediately resolved to make a descent upon them with a powerful force, and reduce them into subjection before they could have completed their designs: but the priests dissuaded him from this hasty project, and proposed, that it would be much more acceptable to the gods to make, in the first place, an offer of reconciliation. The king, however, had not much respect for the priests, and though he sometimes conformed with their advice, it was generally because it tallied with his own opinion, or he did it for the mere outside shew of veneration for the gods: his want of religion was, indeed, almost proverbial, and, on this account, the people often wondered that he was so successful in war. In this particular instance he was so exasperated at the conduct of his aunt, that not the persuasion of the priests, nor the admoni-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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fire conversing together, they threw several spears at them, which wounded many, and struck all with a panic: the whole garrison was instantly in a state of confusion; and a great number so far lost their presence of mind as to endeavour to make their escape on board the canoes; in this attempt, forgetting that it was low water, they leapt from off the banks, and fell upon the shelf of rocks below, in consequence of which several of them had broken arms and legs, and sundry contusions, which, together with the fright, producing universal spasm (tetanus*) in some of them, caused their death a day or two afterwards. In about a quarter of an hour the alarm perfectly subsided, and they passed the rest of the night quietly.

During the following day the fencing was completed, and a second ditch was planned round the former; this, however, was to be without any fencing, that the guns might be brought to bear more readily upon the enemy, in case they should make a descent upon Nëá-fōo. This ditch was to be eighteen feet wide, and about ten deep. In three days it was dug, and the fortress completed. In the mean time the canoes were hauled up within the fencing, but no active operations were effected on either

* Their mode of treating this disease, and their success in sometimes curing it, will be related under its proper head.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 side. Four or five women, however, revolted
723 from the enemy, and brought information that the chiefs of Vavaoo, having now revenged themselves on most of Toobó Nuha's murderers, had come to the resolution of waiting a little time without having recourse to any offensive measures, with a view of ascertaining what Finow's real intentions were.

[634] The fortress being now quite completed, and
[726] the guns stationed one at each of the four entrances, of which there were two in front (on the inland side) and one on each of the other two sides; Finow gave orders that a strong party should go forth early in the morning, towards the enemy's fortress, and destroy all the plantations they could come at, but in case of an attack, they should make their retreat as speedily as possible. In the afternoon they returned laden with yams, plantains, &c. but having met with a sudden attack from the enemy, had lost several of their men. They brought intelligence that they had discovered a large field of fine yams nearly full grown, but it was so well defended that they could not with prudence make an attack upon it. Finow resolved to remain quiet the following night, lest the enemy should be lying in wait for him, but the night after that to proceed with a large and strong party to plunder and destroy this planta-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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tion. In the mean time a young chief revolted to the enemy, and communicated Finow's intentions with certain additional details, which, however false, served to raise him in the opinion of the enemy, and establish his credit with them. He informed them, over and above the actual truth, that his own father Lioofau was to remain behind in the *colo* (fortress) with a small party to defend it, but that being secretly an enemy to Finow, he would without doubt readily yield up the place to them. Upon the strength of this information they laid their plan accordingly: a large party of warriors, well armed, were to conceal themselves in a thick wood at no great distance from the field of yams, through which wood passed a road leading from Finow's *colo*: they were to lie down on the ground and cover themselves with branches, &c. that as soon as Finow's army had passed, they might be able to cut off their retreat: at the same time another strong party was to advance upon Nëáfoo, and take advantage of the supposed treacherous disposition of Lioofau.

Finow having arranged *his* plan, set off very early in the morning with the far larger part of his men, leaving the remainder under the command of Lioofau to take care of the *colo*. Very fortunately for Finow, before he had advanced

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Mariner having seated himself near Finow, the latter asked him why they did not kill them at once, without cutting off their heads: this question he asked partly from motives of humanity, and partly to know why they took so much trouble about them.

A few days after this event, Tooboo Boogoo, a certain priest, belonging to the *colo* of Felletoa, and who was a relation of Finow, having been consulted, regarding some matters of policy, gave advice which appeared to the Vavaoo chiefs more consonant to Finow's interests than their own, and they accordingly objected to it, declaring that he wanted to act a treacherous part in thus befriending his relation: upon which he told them that if they could place no credit in his word, nor confidence in his honesty, he was of no use to them, and therefore they had better kill him at once, or at least confine him;—or if they had a mind to behave generously towards him, permit him to go away and live with Finow: the chiefs replied that they should take a little time to consider of it. He did not think proper, however, to wait for their decision, but made his escape early one morning, and took refuge with Finow, whom he informed of a design the enemy had of besieging him. In consequence of this information every preparation was made to put the fortress in the best possible state of defence.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 723 The Hapai army being returned to Neafoo, Finow gave orders that no man should venture out for some time, lest, the vigilance and anger of the enemy being now so strongly excited, some should fall a prey to their rashness.

669 724 About a week afterwards, a warrior, named Havili, requested leave of Finow to permit him to go in a large canoe, with an armed party, to the north-west part of the island, to secure a number of hogs, which the enemy kept there in a fencing, observing, that it would be but proper to relish the Vavaoo yams with a little Vavaoo [701] pork! Havili was a man remarkable for laying hold of every opportunity of undertaking secret expeditions by night; and he was thought to have killed more men in his time than any other warrior.

669 724 726 The king having granted him leave, he went on board a canoe, with forty stout men, and proceeded towards the place. The enemy, however, had previously sent an additional force to take care of their hogs, thinking, very justly, that Finow might be encouraged to turn his attention to that quarter, from having met with such success in the field of yams. It happened, one night, that part of this guard, sauntering about upon the beach, perceived a large canoe coming towards them. They immediately sent word to their companions, and, se-

2: Mariner F-5 (1805-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 for her to take alone, with the risk of meeting
586 Moteita and his followers, who often concealed
722 themselves in those woods, and declared his
727 suspicion that she intended to run away. She immediately fell on her knees, clasped her hands, and begged and intreated most earnestly, that he would not prevent her flight from the dominion of tyranny to the bosom of her relations, and appealed most pathetically to his own feelings and affections towards his mother, or whatever relatives he might have in his own country, and represented how hard and cruelly severe it would be for any one to prevent him flying to them, if it were otherwise in his power. Being moved by the earnestness of her manner, and the unfortunate circumstances of her situation, he raised her up, and promised not to interfere in her escape, nor to divulge the matter to any one, and gave her full liberty to proceed whichever way she thought proper.

669 Finow had, for a long time past, entertained
726 the idea of seizing upon several of the enemy's
226 women, who were in the habit of assembling
[723] at a certain part of the inlet, to gather shell-fish,
[634] and now, that his wife had run away, he was more than ever encouraged to do this, by way of retaliation upon Toe Oomoo, for the detention of her. The place where they procured this sort of fish, was upon a shelf of rocks (about

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 726 784 761 death as a punishment for his late offence. This too was the general opinion of the people, and was the subject of their conversation for a long time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was brought home.

669 723 [728] [634] [726] [712] Finow already began to grow tired of the war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his genius, he loved rather a few hard fought engagements and a speedy conquest. The enemy shewed no disposition to come forth from their strong hold and attack him; and he had found by experience, that even the guns produced no sensible effect upon their fortification, situated upon an eminence, and defended by walls of clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he did not choose that his wish should be known, lest it should be attributed to fear or any other unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring about a peace, without being thought to *wish* for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

669 634 728

[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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at length, however, he considered himself to have found a permanent asylum in the fortress of Hihifo, with Teoo Cava, the chief who had made Finow a present of the extraordinary well trained bird. Teoo Cava received him and his followers in a very cordial manner, considering them a great acquisition to his strength; for they had the reputation of being all great warriors, well schooled in the military practices of Fiji.

Teoo Cava, at length finding that no enemy thought proper to attack him, resolved to lay siege to the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo: he was successful in his attack, and took it with an inconsiderable loss of men. This being done, he determined, contrary to the advice of his matabooles, to garrison both fortresses. The reason the matabooles gave for the impolicy of this conduct, was the readiness with which the enemy made their retreat; which they thought argued their intentions of returning speedily, with fresh strength. Ambition, and desire of larger possessions, blinding him, however, to his own proper interests, he neglected sage counsel; and, dividing his forces, reserved the choicest half for his own personal safety in the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo, and commissioned the rest to defend Hihifo. He had with him Toobo Malohi and his

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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the enemy dead on the field, besides the two killed in the canoe: their own loss were four, killed on the spot, and three others, who died afterwards of their wounds. The enemy were about sixty in number; themselves about fifty. In this affair Mr. Mariner unfortunately received a violent blow on the knee by a stone from a sling, which lamed him for a considerable length of time. It appeared from the account of a boy, who was wounded and taken prisoner, that the enemy intended to proceed as secretly as possible to the westward of Vavaoo, and, under cover of the night, to make incursions on shore, and do all the mischief in their power.

For the space of about two months after this affair, no circumstance worthy of note took place: no other attack from the people of Hapai was attempted, and all seemed peaceable and quiet. At the end of this period, however, there happened a circumstance, the most fortunate of all to Mr. Mariner, viz. that of his escape. In this time of peace, when he had nothing in which to employ himself, but objects of recreation and amusement, sometimes with Finow, or other chiefs, and sometimes by himself, he would frequently go out for two or three days together, among the neighbouring small islands, on a fishing excursion: as he was

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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to their late unsuccessful expedition.)—Hala Api Api had considerable property at the island of Foa, and he sent a message to an old mata-boole residing there, (who had been a faithful servant to his father,) to gather all his moveable property, consisting of some whale's teeth and a considerable quantity of Hamoa mats, and deposit it in a house of his upon the beach, that he might come some time under cover of the night, and secure it.

Some of the Vavaoo warriors proposed a plan, if the captain would lend them the use of the ship, to kill Toobó Tóa and his greatest fighting-men, in revenge for his murder of their lamented chief, the brave Toobó Nuha. The plan was for about two hundred of the choicest Vavaoo warriors to conceal themselves below on board the Favourite, and when she arrived at the Hapai islands, Toobó Tóa and many other considerable chiefs and warriors were to be invited on board, and then the boarding nettings being hauled up that none might escape, at a signal to be given the Vavaoo people were to rush on deck and dispatch them all with their clubs. To this, of course, the captain did not consent.

Finow consigned to Mr. Mariner's care a present for Mafi Habe, consisting of a bale of fine Vavaoo gnatoo and five or six strings of hand-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

727 circumnavigator[A], whose death the world has so
721 much reason to deplore, had known them in
[181] this respect, he would not have misnamed them
[622] *friendly;* for, in fact, they had deliberately
[175] planned a conspiracy against him, and which would infallibly have been put in execution, if the chiefs who planned it had not disputed about the exact mode and time of making the assault.
721 Finow (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai
175 islands, Toogoo Ahoo being king), was not the
723 designer of this conspiracy, but he gave counsel
694 and advice respecting it. The other chiefs proposed to invite the captain and his officers to a grand bo-méë (a night dance by torch-light), and at a signal to massacre him, his officers, and all the marines; but Finow (the late king's father), objected to this, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, and that they should seize the opportunity of making the attack on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was shortly to be given to him in honour of his arrival, and after they were all destroyed, the men, who would naturally come in search of him, were to be conducted to the further part of the island under pretence that he was there, and *they* were then to be destroyed in like manner: and thus the two ships, their

A [Captain Cook--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

crews being so weakened, might be taken (as they supposed), with ease. The entertainment was prepared, and Captain Cook and several officers being invited were present; it happened, however, a little before the appointed time when the signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs still expressed their opinion that the night-time would have been better than the day, and Finow, finding that the majority were of this opinion, was much vexed, and immediately forbad it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being given, the amusements went on without interruption, and Captain Cook and his officers were much pleased with their entertainment, acknowledging it to be far better than any other that they had received at the Friendly islands. (See his third voyage.) Mr. Mariner had this information at different times from several chiefs who were present, and in particular from Finow himself, (the father of the present king, and son of the chief who was at the head of the conspiracy.)

As every information must be interesting which regards the history or fate of this great and good man, to whom society owes so much, we cannot omit mentioning some circumstances, subsequent to his death, upon which the above anecdote so naturally leads the mind to reflect. The people of the Tonga islands behaved towards Cook with every external demonstration

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

of friendship, whilst they secretly meant to kill him; and the people of the Sandwich islands, although they actually did kill him, have paid, and still continue to pay him, higher honours than any other nation of the earth; they esteem him as having been sent by the gods to civilize them, and one to whom they owe the greatest blessings they enjoy. His bones (the greater part of which they have still in their possession!) they devoutly hold sacred; they are deposited in a house consecrated to a god, and are annually carried in procession to many other consecrated houses, before each of which they are laid on the ground, and the priest returns thanks to the gods for having sent them so great a man. When the Port au Prince was at Woahoo (one of the Sandwich islands), Mr. Mariner was informed of the above circumstances by an Englishman (or perhaps an American), who was a resident there: his name was ——— Harebottle; he seemed a man of some information and respectability, and was formerly the mate of an American vessel that touched there, but, in consequence of some disagreement with the captain, he chose to remain at those islands, and acted in the capacity of harbour-master to the king, and pilot to all ships that arrived, from each of which he demanded five or six dollars for his services. This person informed Mr. Ma-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugonagaboola had been assassinated. They were arrayed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some with only the maro, with black faces and disfigured limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied together, rising from the crown of the head, like a soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteemed their warfare mere child's play. It was determined to proceed against the district of Aheefo, which was small in comparison of the rest; and to make an attack upon it at the same time, both by land and sea, with all our forces. The next morning therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal army, of which I was one, marched forward about seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

* The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

gether. My party quickly followed us, and killed him there. The other they overtook, and knocked him down, but did not kill him; and some boys amongst us, went, and barbarously amused themselves in beating him. We found many women and children; but none were spared. So dreadful is war in a nation, where the fierceness of degenerate nature is not restrained by the the humanizing influence of civilization; and where ignorant and corrupt man has not been taught mercy, by Christianity.

After three days the gale ceased, and the canoes were fitted out to return to Mooa, that part of Tonga whence we had sailed to Aheefo, before we were driven from the island. We reached it by the close of day.

Here a counsel was held on the means of a second attack. Many of the Aheefans, we understood, had retired to a district called Mafanga, which was considered as a sanctuary or country of refuge, to those who fled there. After staying some time at Mooa, to arrange and prepare our plan of attack, we set out with the fleet for Aheefo. The enemy had a force assembled to oppose us; but it was much diminished by the numbers who had fled for refuge to Mafanga. A great part of our men landed, unobstructed by the enemy,—an engagement ensued. We saw them, from the canoes, fight, pursue, flee, and kill. Our troops were too much extended, and seemed in danger of being routed,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. 712
In besieging such places, they well understood the 725
method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits,
defended by earthworks and strong stockades.
They were also well versed in the science of 723
strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished 727
who fell into their hands. The contending parties 726
seldom met in a general engagement. The strife
was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in 727
war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*,
or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often
treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty,
at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied 462
in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing,
sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and,
above all, in voyaging. The women devoted them- (287)
selves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*,
or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth
was made, and to the completion of the process
in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the
female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into
one immense piece, and then printed in brown and
black colours, according to the fancy of the maker.
The women did no field or house drudgery in the
Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the (252)
victuals of the family, that being always the duty
of the men. In addition to the manufacture of
gatu, or native cloth, their chief work was to
bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping
and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and
bags for various purposes, and any other little
nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, 517
games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled
up much of the time of the people. Some of these

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 669 723 565 King George then decided to move his court to Lifuka, Ha'apai, leaving the administration of Tongatapu to Ma'afu and Lavaka, two of the leading chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. It seems very probable that King George did this in order to test their loyalty. If they faithfully carried out their responsibilities and maintained peace and order on Tongatapu, he would be satisfied, for that would prove that there was no further hostility or resentment towards his authority and the law of the country. But if, on the other hand, they seized upon this opportunity to rebel and undermine his authority, then with his solid following in the rest of Tongatapu, Vava'u and Ha'apai, he could easily crush any rebellion.

643 669 565 Ma'afu and Lavaka chose to rebel. They started to rebuild the fortress at Pea. When news of this reached King George, he sailed for Tongatapu to investigate the matter, but Ma'afu and Lavaka denied the rumours and King George returned to Ha'apai, after the promulgation of the 1850 Code of Laws. However, the truth could no longer be contained, and, when an appeal came from the Governor, Sūnia Haumono, and his friends in Tongatapu, King George decided to move his residence to Nuku'alofa in 1851. At this stage Ma'afu and Lavaka openly defied his authority and gave asylum to any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the King. Vaea and Fohe, two other Ha'a Havea chiefs, fortified Houma, ready to support Pea in the event of war.

[797] In spite of repeated efforts on the part of the Wesleyan missionaries,[8] the Ha'a Havea chiefs had determined to defy the

[8] West paid a visit to Vaea, chief of Houma, and during their interview a conversation occurred, which West (1865:310-11) later recorded:

> Vaea, in the course of our interview, said, 'You see us armed, not that we are at war, or wish to fight, but because Tubou' (the hereditary name of the Tongan kings) 'is angry with us, and because he is preparing to attack us. He wants to force us to become Christians; but sooner than that shall be, we will fight and die.' To this assertion I thought it my duty to make the following reply:—'It is no business of mine to meddle with your political affairs; but I will say this, that King George does not, and never did, wish to compel you to become Christians: he leaves that to your own free choice. He only asks you to keep the general laws of the land, and to abide truthfully by your voluntary oaths of allegiance to his person and government. As the proof of what I say, you may go